

(Applause)

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THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: It is just like Washington, nothing works. The podium is supposed to go up and down. (Laughter)

Good morning and thank you for the opportunity to appear before you, sandwiched in between a very formidable speech by President Janofsky and I'm sure a very humorous and light discussion of the Debit Committee report to follow.

(Laughter)

I thought what you needed in this twenty-minute or half hour segment was an historical analysis of the Office of Attorney General and the Department of Justice and a comparison of its myriad duties as well as a strong demonstration of the glittering managerial abilities of the present office-holder.

(Laughter)

But then on second thought, I decided that that would really be quite boring and I give a sufficient number of boring speeches around the country at all kinds of gatherings and organizations.

There is one person in the audience who knows full well what the job of the Attorney General is like, and that is Griffin Bell, of Washington, D. C. Is that listed on your registration, Judge Bell?

(Laughter)

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The setting in which the Attorney General's office operates in Washington is a surprise to me. It perhaps shouldn't be, but I was from the hinterlands, quite a long way away, I cared little about Washington and what happened there. I was from Baltimore.

(Laughter)

And I thought that the academic halls and trial lawyers had a monopoly on arrogance until I got to Washington.

(Laughter)

And I found there that there was an amazing synergestic effect, a few brains and a little power produced a fatal disease. First it blinded the eye and then it'incapacitated the ear for any listening whatsoever.

(Laughter)

So the Attorney General of the United States has to operate within and be careful to take all possible preventative medicine to avoid that common ailment in Washington.

Arrogance reminds me about Strauss a little bit. Saturday night, there was one of those large to-dos they have in Washington about four or five times a year. This particular one is called the Gridiron Club Annaal Spring Dinner, and it is largely put on by newspaper people and

media people, and everyone attends. It is a very enjoyable event. Political skits are put on, and in this particular one on Saturday night, Pat Lucey, former Ambassador to Mexico was representing Senator Kennedy and he had the misfortunetef preceding Bob Strauss who was representing President Carter on the platform. Strauss began his remarks after some fairly pithy and humorous statements by Ambassador Lucey began his remarks by saying that Senator Kennedy was stating that Pat Lucey was a Kennedy answer to Bob Strauss. Strauss said that is like saying Bella Abzug is the answer to Bo Derrick.

(Laughter)

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In the same frame, they were talking about the economy, and if anyone can get a joke or a laugh out of the economy these days they are doing fairly well. And the first suggestion was what the government ought to do is go to Chrysler and see if Chrysler wouldn't bail us out.

(Laughter)

And on second thought, the suggestion was, no, let's have a meeting and get Antitrust Division approval for a merger between Chrysler and New York City. You could call it the "big lemon."

(Laughter)

It is difficult to describe and speak of the Attorney General's office without being boring and without

self-aggrandizement. Even the title of the subject of that kind of discussion was difficult. "The Changing Roll" is as neutral atopic to express reflections by a trial lawyer who is gradually -- I can't say suddenly, really -- but gradually put in the position of being a manager, an adviser as well as a legal decision-maker as Attorney General.

We could have said something more striking like how does a poor Baltimore trial lawyer find happiness as Attorney General of the United States. But I thought about it and decided to try to compare from about five aspects my experiences and talents and skills developed as a trial lawyer which are similar to the ones that you've developed and are familiar with, with the differences by contrast with some of the scope of the duties, the nature of the duties, the tasks as well as the skills required as Attorney General, and to discuss them in the framework of certain propositions which are sometimes put forth as absolutes or truths, such as the Department of Justice is the largest law firm in the world and therefore what it takes really is a very fine lawyer to manage that largest law firm with the greatest efficiency with which some very large law firms are managed in the country; or the myth that the Department of Justice is so monolithic and so complicated that it doesn't matter who is Attorney General, that it will carry on its affairs and that it makes little difference who the

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Attorney General is; or the third myth or proposition that if we could only provide and if the responsible people in the Department of Justice would fulfill their obligations by simply making careful, honest and fair decisions, their job is substantially complete or done.

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Each of those propositions has a certain half truth within it, but it far misses the mark. Take, for example, the scope of the work of a trial lawyer. We represent by and large specific clients in specific disputes and we retain and reserve considerable choice in that representation and in the particular disputes. Our duty generally is not only our duty to the court and to the law but advice and advocacy both oral and written in the performance of the representation of specific clients in specific matters.

And think for a moment in contrast to that the scope and the duties of the Attorney General as the head of the Department of Justice. It strikes you immediately that the opportunity or the choice and freedom with which the trial lawyer operates does not exist in the Department of Justice nor exist in the office of Attorney General.

Representing the citizens of the country, the government and its officials and the entities of government, there is little choice in declining a case or declining to undertake the litigation or the resolution of the policies

which are being presented.

And then with the nature of the work, it goes recently, for example, from serious consideration of the effects and options regarding economic sanctions in our efforts to combat the terrible and tragic circumstances of our hostages in Iran and the aggressive actions of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan through prison policy, through the consideration of the use of the Gredit Control Act, as well as the new conservation gasoline fee, in terms of trying to develop a program that will have an effect on dampening inflation and deaccelerating it, as well as constantly bearing in mind within the scope of the work First Amendment rights, other constitutional sanctities and the effectiveness of law enforcement throughout the government.

With regard to the nature and difference of contrasts between a trial attorney and his performance of advocacy, both oral and written, consider that, yes, the Attorney General does have that responsibility and clearly one untrained and unexercised in the practice of law would have significant difficulties in fulfilling the role, and we have seen that happen from time to time in the past.

But more than that, the Attorney General has to broaden his understanding and vision on an enormous variety of legislative matters, he has to have some at least appetite for financial matters -- after all, the budget of

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the Department of Justice now, although it is one-half of one percent of the federal budget, is approaching \$3 billion a year -- managerial skills, with which a trial lawyer is frequently unconcerned unless it relates to a case and the representation of a corporate client, or unless he happens to double his role as not only a trial lawyer but as a managing partner. But the managerial concerns of the Department of Justice and the Attorney General are enormous. After all, there are almost 55,000 employees within the umbrella of the Department of Justice, 26 different units and divisions and operations within the department. And the academic duties or the planning duties, divisionary duties which may be most essential to the Department of Justice and for which there is so precious little time are far beyond the ordinary scope and tasks of the trial attorney. His direction is on the concrete, it is on this year, it is on this case, on successfully winning and representing the clients who trust their fate to him or to her.

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But the planning, the direction of five-year programs or ten-year programs, the attack on new ideas and the defeat of bad ideas is not frequently in long-range terms within the concern of the day-in-day-out activities of the trial attorney.

And speaking of bad ideas for a moment, no truly

bad idea ever dies.

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(Laughter)

I have had the pleasure of being the Assistant Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General, and now the Attorney General, and it is almost as if I have changed name and personality and style because the same bad ideas that I turned down as Assistant Attorney General have now been presented to me twice again as Deputy and as Attorney General, or many of the same.

And in addition to those things that I mentioned contrasting the scope and duties of the trial advocate with the Attorney General, there is the political differences, politics in the small $"_{D}"$ sense, the recognition of an understanding, appreciation and development of skills relating to the entities of government with which the Department of Justice must work with to be effective, not only the Congress but the Departments of Defense and State and Agriculture and H.E.W., or whatever it is going to be called in the future, HUD, Energy, and the remainder. It requires a greater depth of patience than I have been able to completely muster within myself, coming from an environment such as you now enjoy, wherein you are the masters of those cases and the decisions which you make are unilateral decisions, of course, with the benefit of the client's guidance.

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And in that client-lawyer relationship, a moment's observation will bring forth the realization that the decisions of the trial lawyer, although they require sometimes in the course of a trial split-second response, and although they are important decisions in the strategy, in the course and the preparation of litigation, they are interim decisions. The ultimate decisions--trial, settlement, the amount, whether to go forward or not--are the client's decisions and he makes them or it makes them on the basis of your best and soundest advice.

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But in the true sense the decisions the Attorney General makes with regard to matters and cases as well as ^{to} programs are final decisions, and particularly so in the last five years under Attorney General Levi and Attorney General Bell and continuing with myself as Attorney General.

The independence of the Department of Justice has been enlarged tremendously during those five years. It is one of the healthy phenomenon of the post-Watergate era, but it places on the Attorney General the responsibility with that independence for an enormous variety and range of final decisions as compared with the semi-final or advisory decisions which the trial lawyer enjoys and exercises in his practice.

One of the most difficult contrasts or one of the

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most difficult performances in the Attorney General's office relates to the myth or at least the suggestion about fair and honest decisions, and if we could just obtain those we would be accomplishing our job.

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Certainly in the trial practice, decision-making based on merit and the integrity of our profession as well as the cause of our client and our duty to the court is enough ordinarily. But in the Department of Justice, in the public eye, public affairs or relations -- and I've always thought those were awkward words to use, they have other connotations to be speaking about affairs and relations -- but that aspect of government service and government business and duty is one that I find particularly difficult.

In private practice, relationships with the press from time to time became important on a particular matter, but as in the ordinary course I was far better off and my clients were far better off to have as little relationship with the press and public affairs in the publicity sense as possible.

But in the government practice, as Attorney General, you not only have to make fair, careful and honest decisions, you have to be able to make them in a timely fashion and you have to be able to explain and make them on a foundation and a basis which is understandable to the press at all

times, and that requires a certain amount of art, a certain amount of energy, and a considerable amount of time. It is a little like the circumstance of a general who comes back, he has won a particular battle, and the press speaks to him or talks to him and the first thing they suggest is, well, you won that battle but why did you have to use weapons. And on the other side, the general comes back from a losing battle and the press says to him, well, why didn't you use more weapons. It is that kind of circumstance with regard to decisions, whether they are won or lost, the press will take an opposite tact. I think that is their responsibility. I welcome it. But it is difficult to be prepared for it thoroughly and well at all times.

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The Department of Justice and its programs and the decisions it makes are only sound and only good, not on their intrinsic merit alone but if they are understood and well communicated and accepted by the American public, and you have the support of the American public and the profession which knows the most about the Department of Justice's business and that, of course, is our profession.

So public affairs and public relations are an extremely important and integral part of the duties of the Attorney General and the operation of the Department of Justice.

With regard to performance, what I miss most about

being a trial lawyer is, of course, appearing in court, in combat, the challenge of individuality and enjoyment of success or the good fight that is afforded in trial advocacy. The Attorney General's role is spent, as you can imagine, with the scope of the work, in meetings, in written directives, in orders, in the review of paper to ad nauseam, and not much in direct action on the line but, rather, in directing policy and decision-making and reviewing the systems which are established within the Department of Justice and which need from time to time refurbishing to make sure that the great power exercised by the Department of Justice is being exercised carefully and well.

In speaking of meetings, I recall one of the first meetings that I had in the Department of Justice in which I was much used to the kind of meetings that you have in litigative matters with clients -- they are for a specific purpose, the decisions are made, the meetings may take a little longer than necessary, but they are working, active, action meetings. And fresh into the Department of Justice, I had a meeting with another agency and the head of that agency and its general counsel, and they had a problem with regard to a backlog of fraud cases, and I was prepared for the meeting. I had my people there and I said, as the meeting opened, let's attack this backlog. Now, how many cases are there, what categories are they in, what geographic

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areas do they cover, how long have they been backlogged, and how many men will it take, lawyers and investigators, to resolve the backlog.

And as I was speaking in those terms in the first seven or ten minutes of the meeting, I could see my lawyers and people starting to slide gradually under their chairs and couches, they were turning a little green, and when the representatives of the other department and agency began to speak, they said, well, "We don't know exactly how long these cases have been pending and we haven't done the geographic review of where they are, we haven't age-dated them, we don't know the dollar volume of categories. I was a little perturbed about that point and I began to suggest that maybe we ought not to have a meeting and they ought to go home and and come back again when they were prepared, whether that was in a week or two weeks or a month or whatever. And at that everyone in the room, all the governmental people turned white, and the meeting ended shortly thereafter, and I realized that from then I was known as "un-civil" Civiletti.

(Laughter)

And I realized and have since realized that the meeting that had been proposed was a spiritual meeting.

(Laughter)

That meeting was to have a laying on of hands so

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that the heads of the two units, Justice and its counterpart agency, could say I'm a good fellow and you're a good fellow and we will work together and have our workers solve these problems. It was a spiritual meeting and I had made a bad mistake in trying to get anything done at the meeting.

(Laughter)

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I haven't quite lost that capacity though I am afraid I have lost some of it in aiming at meetings which accomplish a purpose and for which decisions are made.

With regard to the skills and tasks of the trial attorney as compared to the Attorney General, many of them are the same. It helps to be observant and perceptive, certainly care is required, resiliency, a certain degree of oratory, although not essential for an Attorney General, but it is helpful, temporary expertise clearly, instant experts in one area or another, and great precision. All of those things are cross-related.

But leadership is essential for an effective Attorney General. It may not matter for a trial attorney. The analytic balancing that takes place in the development and the process of new programs and new initiatives as well as competing interests, for example, between energy production and conservation. The exercise of authority and the discrimination in work effort is probably crucial to being an effective Attorney General. It has some relevance to the

role of a trial attorney, but if you cannot exercise authority with some comfort and you cannot discriminat between those matters which are significant and those which are routine, you are easily overwhelmed in any management position or position of authority in the Department of Justice and certainly as Attorney General.

Overall, I think that, yes, the Department of Justice is the largest law firm in the world, but it has a dozen functions and duties which have little to do with the law and particularly little to do with litigation which are equally as important and require from any lawyer and particularly from a trial lawyer an openness and a learning process which for me has been and is exhilarating.

Yes, the department could more or less run itself without an Attorney General, certainly in the reactive or responsive areas of our duties. The cases would be brought, they would be litigated, and generally the routine business of the department would work well. But there would be no developments such as Attorney General Levi lent to the Department of Justice in his service to the Department in reorganizing, the guidelines for the operation of the FBI, for example, for laying the seeds for the development of interrelationship between the law and intelligence gathering; there would be no accomplishments such as Griffin Bell achieved in improvements in the administration of justice,

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in establishment now of an institution in the Department of Justice, the Office for the Improvement of the Administration of Justice, the Magistrates Act, the Disputes ResolutionSAct, perhaps even the Omnibu Judgeship Bill, and his development of the seeds of the ideas of Attorney General Levi of the admixture of the law and intelligence into now what has been introduced in Congress for the first time in the history of the country and the first time in the history of the world a spelling out in a public forum through - legislative process of the details and the charter and principles for the guidance of all of our intelligence operations, as well as, of course, the FRT charter which is now before the Congress.

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We would have none of that without the effective leadership of Attorneys General, and we would have none of the future developments in the areas of civil liberties, the preservation in certain areas of the environmental conditions, the strength of pollution control and enforcement units, the development of civil rights units, for example, in United States Attorneys offices, and the follow-through on those programs developed by Attorney General Bell and Attorney General Levi.

As for the future, I think that you can expect from the Department of Justice under the Carter administration and probably beyond that that those improvements that

have been made in the last -- since 1975, the support of research and development in the administration of justice as well as in other areas of prison reform, of investigative tactics and practices to continue in the Department of Justice. It has had the support of this administration and President Carter. You can expect the precision to be applied in investigations and prosecutions more carefully throughout the department, not only in the criminal law area, where we have seen a dynamic change from an acrossthe-board approach to a concentration in particular areas devastating to the country and to citizens, with organized crime, drug trafficking, public corruption, and white collar crime being the focus, you can see a reprecisioning within each of those areas of particular antisocial behavior as being the focus of Justice Department activity. You can see a further integration between investigative and prosecutive or lawyering responsibilities and duties. You can see the continuation of innovation and initiatives; and, lastly and perhaps most importantly, I think we have about institutionalized the essential independence of the Department of Justice from the political process, not only because of the attitudes of the last three AttorneysGeneral but because we now have policies that are in writing and developed to maintain independence of the decision-making with regard to investigations and case management and case

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decisions from unseemly or untowards, no matter how wellintentioned interference by politicians and particularly by a well-meaning White House.

President Carter receives little credit for the support of these items, as President Ford received little credit for the support of these four matters. I think they deserve an enormous amount of support and I predict that with this steady development and continuity between different parties and different AttorneysGeneral that I have high hopes and expectation of high hopes that we have now institutionalized them to the extent that no President and no Attorney General, no matter how ill-chosen, could successfully erode or damage that essential independence.

Lastly, the Department of Justice, our profession, and our country needs your support, needs your constant attention. You here this morning and other fellows of the American College of Trial Lawyers are the very best that we can produce. You offer the hope and the expectation for the preservation of the practice of law as we know it, as to its development within the control of the profession as opposed to governmental control. You afford through your resources and through your imagination and through your objectivity the balance that is essential to check governmental decisions overreaching, bad policy developments. We in the government and we particularly in the Department of

Justice treasure the work of this great association and that of the ABA and its efforts, and I want to seek your continued unselfish devotion of your thoughts and your time and energy to the public good and the country's good and occasionally say something good for America. Thank you. (Applause) - 15